WAYS and MEANS

OF

Raiſing the Extraordinary Supplies for the preſent Year.

To Lord NORTH.

My Lord, No. IV.

ALL Orders of Men may well remember, that at the very Time you, *by your Councils and Meaſures*, were helping to ROB England of Half its Dominions, Maritime Trade, and Naval Power, your In-door Adherents, your Out-door Trumpeters, and your hireling Writers, were wickedly employed in concealing, *as long as poſſible*, the rapid and ruinous Decay of our Manufacturies and Trade.

But all Orders of Men cannot, *without ſome Help*, diſcover, by the News-paper Account of your Budget-Speech, that you therein UNSAY, what your Proxies had ſome Years ago been inſtructed to SAY, about the then pretended flouriſhing State of our Manufacturies and Trade; becauſe the main Body of the People do not know, that your ſaying there are great Deficiencies in this, that, and t'other Tax, is *unſaying* what your Proxies had *ſaid*.

I do not mean that this is the Caſe in every Inſtance of Deficiency you have named; but I, *without ſeeing or regarding any of your Accounts*, ſay it is true of the Taxes on Houſes; and, that the nearly Total Loſs of our Trade with North America, *amounting in Value to near* TWO MILLIONS *of Pounds Sterling a Year*, hath brought ſo many Thouſand Families to Poverty, that *he who runs may therein read* the main Cauſe of Deficiencies in thoſe Taxes.

But your admitting this to be true, would have been impeaching the Authors of thoſe Councils and Meaſures which have brought this Nation to the very Brink of Deſtruction; and therefore you are very ſure that, *even under your Iron-fingered Adminiſtration*, the Officers appointed to manage the New Tax on Houſes have not done their Duty; for if only Twelve Pence in the Pound of ſuch Deficiency be owing to Miſmanagement, it will open a Back-door wide enough for *you*.

And, in Relation to your Ways and Means for the preſent Year, it ſeems to me that you have in View the raiſing of Supplies for TWO, if not THREE Years, *as a General Election is near at Hand*; for Three Pence *per* Buſhel on Malt, and Three Shillings *per* Barrel on Ale and Strong Beer brewed for Sale, were Twenty Years ago computed to produce 1,100,000l. a Year; but I will rate both at only One Million a Year, as the Times are greatly altered, and then it will be a Fund for raiſing Twenty Millions.

I do not mention theſe Things as Matter of Information to you, but to prevent your ſtealing a March on thoſe Gentlemen who have honeſt Intentions towards their Country; but may not know, either what yearly Fund of Supply ſuch additional Taxes on Malt and Beer will raiſe, or that any new Tax on either will raiſe the Price of Ale and Strong Beer a Halfpenny per Quart; and therefore I ſhall give thoſe Gentlemen the beſt Information I can, if you propoſe any other Taxes which require farther Information.

For your wide-waſting Meaſures have been ſo plauſible *in Shew* and ſo peſtilential *in their Conſequences*, that I can compare them to Nothing but thoſe painted Sepulchres which are *full of Rottenneſs, and Dead Men's Bones*.

So that if it were poſſible to exhibit in Effigy all the national Evils which have ſprung from you, the Preſervation of Children yet unborn would naturally ſuggeſt the burning of ſuch Effigies, *to prevent Abortion and untimely Births*.

12*th March*, 1780. J. MASSIE.

To the PRINCIPAL LAND-HOLDERS *of* ENGLAND,
and
To the PRINCIPAL CITIZENS *of* LONDON.

GENTLEMEN, No. LXII.

TIME only permits me to acquaint ye, that according to a Manuſcript Account of the Produce of the ſeveral Branches of Exciſe in the Years 1773 and 1774, the Medium yearly Produce of the old and new Taxes on Malt was — — £. 887,818

From which deduct the Produce of thoſe Taxes in the Years 1778 and 1779, according to Lord North's Account thereof, in his Budget Speech, on Wedneſday laſt - 678,114

And the Yearly Deficiency therein cauſed by wicked Councils and Meaſures, will be about — 200,000

Under theſe Circumſtances, a wicked Miniſter propoſes the laying of a farther and great Tax upon Malt; though the Extraordinary Supplies for the preſent Year may all be raiſed on the exorbitant Part of the Prices of Sugar, without making it dearer.

This was the Caſe Twenty Years ago, when I publicly and unanſwerably ſhewed, as more than a Few of ye may well remember, that the exorbitant Part of the then Prices of Sugar, over and above fair Trading Profits, amounted to *Nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds* a Year.

But if, inſtead of uniting to bring wicked Miniſters to Juſtice, ye chuſe to let a wide-waſting Train of New Taxes go forward, I muſt content myſelf with thinking, that ye will be to do it with *your Eyes open*, and not for Want of Timely knowing *how to do better*.

17*th March* 1780. J. MASSIE.

To the PRINCIPAL LAND-HOLDERS *of* ENGLAND,
and
To the PRINCIPAL CITIZENS *of* LONDON.

GENTLEMEN, No. LXIII.

THERE are many very weighty Reaſons for having the Extraordinary Supplies of the preſent Year all raiſed by an additional Tax upon Sugar; but Time only permits me to mention to ye, ſuch of thoſe Reaſons as our own perilous Situation will make moſt ſtriking, to all Orders of Men.

Such a Tax would make it neceſſary for other Abſentee Sugar-Planters to follow the Example of Alderman Oliver, in going to the Weſt-Indies; and there minding their proper Buſineſs of Sugar-Planting, inſtead of buying rotten Borough Licences, to FLEECE and *domineer over* this Nation; for our Merchants are their Servants, and our Grocers are their Slaves.

Such a Tax would protect the Property of the People againſt the moſt rapacious and degrading Monopoly that ever was ſuffered to continue in England; and it would, at the ſame Time, make our Sugar-Colonies more defenſible againſt any Attacks which may be formed by the French and Spaniards.

Such a Tax, with Liberty to import Foreign Sugars, *as we do Oats*, when the ſame exceed a reaſonable Price, would make it the Intereſt of our Sugar-Planters to *recover from the French* that Foreign European Sugar-Trade which is one of the greateſt Sources of French Wealth and Naval Power.

Such a Tax would diminiſh the dangerous and unconſtitutional Influence of the Crown, by removing out of Parliament a great Number of Men who, by corrupt Means, come there ONLY to vote as they are bid, upon Condition of their being ſuffered to *Place* and *Penſion* themſelves upon the People, as they long have done, at the Rate of near One Million of Pounds Sterling a Year.

Such a Tax is abſolutely neceſſary to prevent our Abſentee Sugar-Planters from being ruined *by their own Rapine*; for as they were the Ring-leaders in thoſe Monopolies which have nearly overturned equal Juſtice, between Man and Man, ſo are they now likely to be firſt puniſhed, by French and Spaniſh Armaments.

Near Fifty Years ago, the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations repreſented to the Houſe of Lords, the then depopulated State of our Sugar-Colonies; and, at the ſame Time, intimated, that if the Aſſemblies of thoſe Colonies did not provide proper Remedies, it would be neceſſary for the Britiſh Parliament to do it.

Notwithſtanding all which, no Remedy againſt ſuch Depopulation hath, in near Fifty Years, been provided, either by thoſe Aſſemblies, or by Parliament; for the Number of white Inhabitants in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and our Leeward Iſlands is leſs than there ought to be in Jamaica ONLY.

I therefore care not who are diſpleaſed with my now ſaying, that if the ſound Advice I publicly gave about our Sugar-Colonies, near Twenty Years ago, had been followed, the important Iſland of Jamaica would now have had a ſufficient Number of white Inhabitants to defend it againſt both France and Spain.

But I care about the Protection of the Property of the People of England from abominable Rapine; and about the Preſervation of the Engliſh Sugar-Colonies; becauſe they have been and, *by wiſe Laws made here*, may again be, not only great Sources of *Wealth* but of *Naval Power*, to this nearly undone Nation.

I therefore humbly propoſe, that a Tax of One Pound Five Shillings *per Cent* of 112lb. be immediately laid on all Muſcovado (brown) Sugar imported into Great-Britain; for with that additional Duty on ſuch Sugar, and proportionably higher Duties on Clayed (part refined) Sugars, the whole may well be afforded at the preſent ſhameful Prices.

Even the late John Aſhley, Eſq; our Sugar-Planters' greateſt Advocate, hath ſhewn, in his Memoir, that the Charge of producing Muſcovado Sugar is only Six Shillings *per* 100lb; and when I, in Dec. 1760, publicly ſhewed, that the juſt and fair Price of ſuch Sugar in England was only 1l. 1s. *per* 112lb. our Sugar Planters, *by their Silence*, confeſſed it to be ſo.

It therefore will ſignify Nothing for either our Sugar-Planters, or their Advocates, to ſay, that the propoſed Tax would be the Ruin of them and their Plantations; becauſe a much greater Duty on Tobacco, than with my propoſed Tax would then be payable for Sugars, hath not ruined either the Tobacco-Planters or Tobacco Plantations.

And, on the other Hand, all Men who have thought to any good Purpoſe about Sources of Naval Power, cannot but ſee, that our ſupplying Foreign European Nations with Sugar *(as we did for many Years)* is the only Source of Wealth and Naval Power that can in any Degree repair *our Loſs of North America*, and enable us to long contend againſt France and Spain.

To which I muſt add, that protecting the Property of the People from farther Rapine, and, at the ſame Time, providing effectually for War, by ſuch additional Taxes on Sugars, will, at the approaching general Election, moſt aſſuredly, by all Orders of Men, be made a Teſt to determine who are FIT PERSONS *to repreſent them in Parliament*.

Such, in Subſtance, is the State of theſe Matters, as they appeared to me, between the Hours of Eleven laſt Night and Three this Morning; and I think it far better to lay the Whole immediately before ye, than to employ even a Day in writing either more fully, or leſs faultily, about matters of ſuch great and preſſing Importance.

18*th March*, 1780. J. MASSIE.

POSTSCRIPT.

19*th March* 1780. As a dangerous and unconſtitutional Extenſion of the Influence of the Crown, is both *evidently intended* and *actually effected*, by miniſterial Connivance at all this Tyranny and Rapine of our Sugar-Planters;

The Committees of Counties and Cities, throughout England, will not need to be told, EITHER that the ſaid Planters come within the Intent and Meaning of all the Petitions againſt Perſons holding either Sinecure Places or unmerited Penſions; OR, that the Extraordinary Supplies of the preſent Year cannot be raiſed by any other Ways and Means than I have here propoſed, without wilfully weakening the State, wantonly increaſing the Poverty and Diſtreſs of the People, and refuſing to comply with the Prayer of their juſt Petitions.

To which I think it nationally neceſſary to add, that if all, or any, of thoſe Committees, either doubt the Truth of what I have here ſaid about our Sugar-Planters and Sugar-Colonies; or wiſh to have farther uſeful Information concerning both; they have only to ſignify their Intentions on that Head, by ſending to No. 96, in Leadenhall Street, London, proper Sums of Money to pay the Expences of reprinting and republiſhing ſuch farther Information (the whole whereof was printed and publiſhed, *at my Expence*, near Twenty Years ago).

For I have not yet received from any County or City Committee, the leaſt Contribution towards the Expences of printing and publiſhing, for national Information, my Accounts of our late North-American Colony Trade; although Their Graces The Dukes of RICHMOND, RUTLAND, PORTLAND, and MANCHESTER; The Marquis of ROCKINGHAM; Sir George Savile, Baronet; John Sawbridge, Eſq; and ſeveral other Peers and Commoners of England, have been pleaſed, by their reſpective Contributions, to both honour and encourage the ſaid Undertaking.

All which Matters and Things I thus publicly ſubmit to the ſpeedy and moſt ſerious Conſideration of the ſaid ſeveral Committees; to the End, that they may the ſooner come to ſuch Reſolutions, or other Determinations, as the common Safety and Welfare of this afflicted Land ſhall require.

J. MASSIE.

TO THE PRINCIPAL LAND-HOLDERS OF ENGLAND,

AND

TO THE PRINCIPAL CITIZENS OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN, No. LXVI.

A [illegible] to be the [illegible] having this Nation; and there was a Time when I hoped, that [illegible] would have given, not only *Stability and Luſtre to the* THRONE, but [illegible] to the PEOPLE.

I have employed ſeveral Months in forming thoſe Parliamentary Tables which were printed, in [illegible], on Half a Sheet of Paper; and reprinted, in March 1775, in the ſame Size and [illegible] for Title "The Rotten and Tottering State of the popular Part of the Britiſh [illegible] demonſtrated".

But thoſe ſtrong Hopes which ſo early budd'd, and bloomed, in the Minds of all Orders of Men, [illegible] ſoon periſhed, leaving them to find out that *they had been dreaming*; and were waked by [illegible] North Wind, [illegible] Year [illegible] ſtrip from the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms thoſe Laurels wherewith [illegible] Years Train of Victories had adorned it.

All which hath been effected, with an inconceivable Rapidity, that high and low, rich and poor, ALL FELL TOGETHER, a Darling of this Nation from the Summit of *Honour and Safety* into the Sink of *Contempt and Danger*.

And though our Miniſters of State are anſwerable, *in Law*, for their unrelenting Perſeverance in Councils and Meaſures which Events did, Year after Year, loudly proclaim to be alike ruinous and wicked: the Majority of ye are anſwerable *to their Children—to their Country—and, to that unerring Guide, Judge, and Protector*, CONSCIENCE—for their having either promoted or not oppoſed ſuch Councils and Meaſures.

Both the Penſion-craving and Bauble-hunting Parts of that Majority have indeed already been ſo far rewarded, either for their active Iniquity or their paſſive Folly, that ſuch of them as are *too far gone* to have inward Feelings, may outwardly FEEL *in a Failure of their Rents, Revenues, and Incomes*, what it is to make a Sell of that Conſcience which GOD *gave to all Men for a Guide*.

Under Circumſtances ſo awfully inductive, the well meaning among ye act wiſely in turning their Thoughts towards a more equal Repreſentation of the People of England in Parliament; becauſe ruinous Councils and Meaſures could not have ROBBED us of HALF *our Dominions, Maritime Truſt, and Naval Power*, and of ALL *our Allies*, if rotten Majorities had not ſupported ſuch Councils and Meaſures.

The People of England, therefore, muſt be repreſented in Parliament by Men in whom other Nations and States can both truſt and confide, before they will place either Truſt or Confidence in this Nation; becauſe the all-ruling Law of Self-preſervation ever did, and WILL FORBID both Nations and private Men to let either their own Safety or Welfare depend on thoſe *who are not to be attended Upon*.

It is this all-ruling Law that now forbids the Dutch to give us that ſtipulated Aſſiſtance, which their own Safety would have put them upon offering, *without Treaty*, to able and honeſt Britiſh Miniſters; but they ſee that wicked and weak Councils and Meaſures have nearly drowned us, and thereby made their own Safety depend upon their breaking a Treaty *to prevent their being drowned along with us*.

And it was the ſame all-ruling Law that lately put the Empreſs of Ruſſia upon ſending us a Declaration of Neutrality; though there may be a farther View in her arming to maintain ſuch Neutrality, if ſhe finds, *by a longer Perſeverance in ruinous Councils and Meaſures here*, that we are become unworthy of any better Fate than that of having our Dominions ſhared among other Powers, as thoſe of Poland lately were.

In ſhort, we are no longer at Liberty to *chuſe* what we will do; but MUST either have ſuch a Parliament as other Nations can ſafely truſt; or we ſhall ſoon ceaſe to be a People; for a deep-rooted Corruption hath ſo clogged and weakened all the Wheels of Government, that if the great CECIL was to come into the World again, he would not be able to ſave us, without *a more equal*, and *freely choſen Parliament*.

It therefore is happy FOR ALL, that Precedent in Scotland hath ſhut the Door againſt private Opinions concerning a more equal Parliamentary Repreſentation in England; for it appears by the Treaty of Union, and by the Laws made to confirm it (all of which may be found in Statute 5th of Q. Anne, Chap. 8.) that the Rights and Privileges of the Scotch Boroughs were to remain intire, but that inſtead of 66 they were to ſend only 15 Repreſentatives to Parliament.

How it happens that a Precedent of ſuch vaſt Importance is not followed upon the preſent Occaſion, I cannot tell: but I know that I mentioned it in my 3d Letter to Junius, dated 6th of Auguſt 1772; and that it bars all Pleas againſt making a ſimilar Reduction in the Number of Engliſh Borough Repreſentatives, *to make Room for a proper Increaſe in the Number of Engliſh Knights of the Shire*.

For the Boroughs of Scotland do each of them ſtill chuſe a Repreſentative, as they did before the Union; but it is only to repreſent each Borough at a Second Election, wherein the Sixty-five Perſons ſo choſen do elect Fourteen Members to repreſent all the ſaid Boroughs in Parliament; excepting Edinburgh, which is allowed, by the Scotch Law that fixes the Repreſentation, to always ſend one Member.

Thus far, the Treaty of Union, and the Laws whereby it is confirmed, mark out the Courſe that true Wiſdom and ſound Policy require us to take, towards obtaining a more equal Parliamentary Repreſentation; for we have an undoubted Right to reform our Part of the Parliament, as the Scotch, at the Union, reformed theirs; and I hope that none of ye will perſevere in attempting to do more.

For the Condition of Ruſſia and Holland forbids us to hope for Aſſiſtance from any foreign Power, until we have ſuch a Parliament as other Nations and States can ſafely truſt; and we are alſo to conſider, that other Nations will not truſt a new Parliament, until a vigorous Purſuit of wiſe Councils and Meaſures hath proved, that *it is worthy of, being ſo truſted*.

All which muſt unavoidably take up ſo much Time, that I think ye will act wiſely for your Country and for yourſelves, by immediately entering into County-Aſſociations for the SOLE Purpoſe of obtaining a more equal Parliamentary Repreſentation; and I muſt beg Leave to ſubmit to your Conſideration, the following plain, ſhort, and unexceptionable Terms of Aſſociation.

> "We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being Free-holders or taxed Houſe-holders of
> "the County of ———, do hereby aſſociate to do, and to concur in the doing of,
> "all that may lawfully be done towards obtaining a more equal Repreſentation of
> "the People of England in Parliament; ſimilar to that obtained for Scotland, when the
> "Two Kingdoms were united."

An Aſſociation, with ſuch a Preamble, was, to my certain Knowledge, begun in London, Two Years ago, by ſuch principal Citizens as might moſt properly begin it there; but upon mentioning the Matter to a Number of reſpectable Citizens it appeared, that only a Few of them had THEN *ſuffered enough* to ſee the Rectitude and Neceſſity of their following ſo proper a Leading.

The Tables No. II and III, herewith printed, will ſhew ye, all the preſent Inequalities of County and City or Borough Repreſentation; as the Tables No. IV and V will ſhew ye, what Number of County and City or Borough Repreſentatives each County now hath, and what Number thereof each County ſhould have, upon a more equal Repreſentation throughout England.

All which I, with much Labour, determined, near Twenty Years ago, by a Manuſcript Account in the Collection of State Papers made by the Right Honourable Charles Montagu, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Reign of King William, and afterwards created Earl of Halifax; of which I here take Notice, that ye may know upon what Foundation thoſe Tables ſtand.

And as to all that can be ſaid, about the preſent Number of taxable Houſes in England being much altered, one Way or other, in moſt Counties, from what it was in the Reign of King William; I have only to anſwer, that theſe Tables may very well ſerve at this perilous Criſis; and that when Times of Peace and Safety come, it will be Time enough to make better Tables.

For we ought, Firſt of all, to agree and determine *for* ENGLAND (as the Scotch Parliament, by their Act for regulating Parliamentary Repreſentation, wiſely agreed and determined *for* SCOTLAND) that Two Thirds of our Repreſentatives ſhall be choſen for the Shires, and One Third thereof for the Cities and Boroughs.

Not merely becauſe the Scotch have done ſo for Scotland; *but chiefly* becauſe the Landed Intereſt of England is to the Trading Intereſt thereof nearly in the Proportion of TWO to ONE, as my Tables do ſufficiently ſhew; *and partly* becauſe ſuch a Determination will FOR EVER prevent either of thoſe Intereſts from incroaching on the other in Parliamentary Repreſentation.

To which I muſt add, that if all the open Market-Towns of each County were to vote along with the Cities or Boroughs thereof, the whole would, upon a more equal Repreſentation, have a Right to no more Repreſentatives than are expreſſed by the Figures placed againſt the Names of the ſeveral Counties, in the Column B. of Table No. V. herewith printed.

And I am ſure that no ſound Reaſon can be given, for taxed Houſe-holders having Votes in ſome Towns and not in others; becauſe their contributing equally to the Support of Government, gives them an equal Right to vote for Members of Parliament; more eſpecially as having little or no Property doth not diſqualify other Men from ſo voting.

But until paying Scot and bearing Lot, or having Stock or other Effects to a certain Value, be made an univerſal Qualification to vote for City or Borough Repreſentatives, (as having Forty Shillings, or more, a Year from Land, long hath been for Free-holders to vote at County Elections) it will be in Vain for any Man to aim at Correctneſs, in making Tables for City and Borough Repreſentation.

I therefore muſt again adviſe ye, to proceed according to theſe Tables; but to allot to each of the Thirty leaſt improved Counties, one Knight of the Shire leſs than is ſpecified in Col. B. of Tab. 4, and to allot to each of the Thirty Counties wherein Manufacturies have moſt increaſed ſince the glorious Revolution, one City or Borough Repreſentative more than is put down in Col. B. of Tab. 5.

To the End that the Number of the former may be (342) double the Number of the latter (171) and the Total of both be, as it now is, Five Hundred and Thirteen—and, to this greateſt of all Ends, that ye may not continue writing and debating about new Opinions and many Things, *until that* DESTRUCTION *which now hangs heavily over our Heads*, BURSTS DOWN UPON ALL.

5th May, 1780. J. MASSIE.

No. II.

The Number of taxable Houſes in Country or Village Parithes, to each County Repreſentative now ſent to Parliament.

	A No. Houſes to each Repreſentative	B Indexes or Exponents
Rutland	971	1
Flint	1,009	
Weſtmoreland	1,950	
Monmouth	2,203	2
Huntington	2,360	2
Merioneth	2,403	2
Cardigan	2,668	2
Radnor	2,678	2
Denbigh	2,782	2
Carnarven	3,137	3
Bedford	3,250	3
Northumberland	3,272	3
Pembroke	3,272	3
Cumberland	3,289	3
Carmarthen	3,451	3
Durham	3,620	3
Brecknock	4,089	4
Montgomery	4,211	4
Worceſter	4,348	4
Oxford	4,395	4
Warwick	4,412	4
Berks	4,495	4
Buckingham	4,587	4
Hereford	4,627	4
Cambridge	4,678	4
Nottingham	4,699	4
Leiceſter	4,813	4
Cornwall	5,012	5
Anglеſea	5,097	5
Surry	5,210	5
Hartford	5,359	5
Derby	5,402	5
Glamorgan	5,480	5
Staffford	5,521	5
Middleſex	6,025	6
Northampton	6,124	6
Salop	6,270	6
Cheſter	6,374	6
Suſſex	6,425	6
Dorſet	6,536	7
Wilts	7,300	7
Southampton	7,871	8
Kent	7,873	8
Glouceſter	8,121	8
Suffolk	10,939	11
Norfolk	11,117	11
Lancaſter	11,135	11
Eſſex	11,178	11
Lincoln	12,890	13
Somerſet	13,841	14
Devon	15,695	16
York	30,470	31

No. III.

The Number of taxable Houſes in Cities or Market Towns, to each City or Borough Repreſentative now ſent to Parliament.

	A No. Houſes to each Repreſentative	B Indexes or Exponents
Rutland	0	0
Merioneth	0	0
Cornwall	68	1
Angleſea	71	
Wilts	113	
Suſſex	116	
Flint	128	
Southampton	185	2
Dorſet	221	3
Radnor	229	3
Buckingham	234	3
Cardigan	245	3
Cumberland	274	4
Hereford	280	4
Berks	316	4
Staffford	330	4
Pembroke	337	4
Weſtmoreland	345	5
Salop	359	5
Huntington	399	5
Lancaſter	404	5
Nettingham	415	6
Suffolk	447	6
Hartford	449	6
Northampton	451	6
Worceſter	501	7
Carmarthen	508	7
York	529	7
Brecknock	530	7
Oxford	557	8
Devon	576	8
Lincoln	582	8
Kent	616	9
Northumberland	639	9
Glouceſter	656	9
Glamorgan	672	9
Carnarvon	677	9
Montgomery	754	11
Somerſet	784	11
Warwick	785	11
Bedford	801	11
Denbigh	818	12
Cambridge	948	13
Derby	1,054	15
Monmouth	1,062	15
Durham	1,067	15
Norfolk	1,108	16
Leiceſter	1,163	17
Surry	1,163	17
Eſſex	1,182	17
Cheſter	1,563	22
Middleſex	11,261	165

According to the Conſtitution of *England*, every Freeholder therein is underſtood to have, and to exerciſe by his Repreſentative, an equal Right and Share of Concern in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. But that great Right, upon which the Preſervation of Liberty and Property doth fundamentally depend, is ſo far warped from Equality, that One Freeholder in the County of *Rutland* hath, by his Repreſentative, as great a Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. as 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. to 31 Freeholders in other Counties have by their Repreſentatives.——And the Holders of taxed Houſes in the Cities and Market Towns of different Counties, are repreſented in a far more unequal Manner, though they contribute equally to the Support of Government by their Purſes and Swords; for One ſuch Houſeholder in the County of *Cornwall* hath, by his Repreſentative, as great a Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. as 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. to 165 ſuch Houſeholders in other Counties have by their Repreſentatives.——All which Diſproportions are expreſſed by the Figures called Indexes or Exponents in the Columns B. B.

No. IV.

The Number of Knights of the Shire which now repreſent the Freeholders of each County in Parliament, and the Number of ſuch Knights whereby the ſaid Freeholders ſhould be ſo repreſented.

	A Preſent Number	B True Numb.
Bedford	2	4
Berks	2	6
Buckingham	2	6
Cambridge	2	6
Cheſter	2	8
Cornwall	2	6
Cumberland	2	4
Derby	2	7
Devon	2	19
Dorſet	2	8
Durham	2	5
Eſſex	2	14
Glouceſter	2	10
Hartford	2	7
Hereford	2	6
Huntington	2	3
Kent	2	10
Lancaſter	2	14
Leiceſter	2	6
Lincoln	2	16
Middleſex	2	8
Monmouth	2	3
Norfolk	2	14
Northampton	2	7
Northumberland	2	4
Nottingham	2	6
Oxford	2	6
Rutland	2	1
Salop	2	8
Somerſet	2	17
Southampton	2	10
Staffford	2	7
Suffolk	2	13
Surry	2	7
Suſſex	2	8
Warwick	2	5
Weſtmoreland	2	3
Wilts	2	9
Worceſter	2	6
York	2	37
Angleſea	1	3
Brecknock	1	3
Cardigan	1	2
Carmarthen	1	2
Carnarvon	1	2
Denbigh	1	2
Flint	1	1
Glamorgan	1	4
Merioneth	1	2
Montgomery	1	3
Pembroke	1	2
Radnor	1	2
Knights of the Shire { now ſent	92	. . .
Knights of the Shire { ſhould be ſent	372	

No. V.

The Number of Repreſentatives now ſent to Parliament for the Cities or Market Towns of each County, and the Number of Repreſentatives which the Taxed Houſeholders in Cities or Market Towns ſhould ſo ſend.

	A Preſent Number	B True Numb.
Bedford	2	1
Berks	7	1
Buckingham	12	1
Cambridge	4	2
Cheſter	2	2
Cornwall	42	2
Cumberland	4	1
Derby	2	1
Devon	24	9
Dorſet	18	3
Durham	2	1
Eſſex	6	4
Glouceſter	6	2
Hartford	4	1
Hereford	6	1
Huntington	2	0
Kent	16	6
Lancaſter	12	3
Leiceſter	2	1
Lincoln	10	3
Middleſex	6	41
Monmouth	1	0
Norfolk	10	6
Northampton	7	2
Northumberland	6	2
Nottingham	6	1
Oxford	7	2
Rutland	0	0
Salop	10	2
Somerſet	16	8
Southampton	24	2
Staffford	8	1
Suffolk	14	4
Surry	12	8
Suſſex	26	2
Warwick	4	1
Weſtmoreland	2	0
Wilts	32	2
Worceſter	7	2
York	28	9
Angleſea	1	0
Brecknock	1	0
Cardigan	1	0
Carmarthen	1	0
Carnarvon	1	0
Denbigh	1	0
Flint	1	0
Glamorgan	1	0
Merioneth	0	0
Montgomery	1	0
Pembroke	2	0
Radnor	1	0
City and Market Town Repreſentatives { now ſent	421	. . .
City and Market Town Repreſentatives { ſhould be ſent	141	

In theſe two States, the true Number of Knights of the Shire, and the true Number of City or Market Town Repreſentatives, which each County ought to ſend to Parliament, are determined by the Number of taxable Houſes to each Repreſentative, upon a general Medium throughout all *England* and *Wales*; which Medium Number of Houſes is 1,637; but upon looking into ſeveral printed Poll-Books for County Elections, and upon making various Inquiries concerning other Counties, I find, that the general Number of Freeholders is to the Number of taxable Houſes in Village or Country Pariſhes, in the Proportion of *One* to *Three*; ſo that the Medium Number of Freeholders to each Knight of the Shire, when 372 ſuch Knights ſhall be elected, would be about 500, ſcarcely varying 100 either Way, excepting in the County of *Kent*, where the ancient *Saxon* Cuſtom of *Gavel-Kind* hath increaſed the Number of Freeholders to near One Half the Number of taxable Houſes.